

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 OMB-01

ACDA-19 OIC-04 SAJ-01 SCI-06 AEC-11 NSF-04 TRSE-00

EB-11 CU-04 STR-08 COME-00 CIEP-02 DRC-01 /185 W

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O R 291150Z JUN 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6771

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 0164

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 4139

MOSCOW ALSO FOR THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, EGEN

SUBJ: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - JUNE 24-28

1. SUMMARY. FINNS ISSUED INVITATION TO A THIRD STAGE IN  
JULY, WITH EASTERN COUNTRIES INDICATING THEY FAVOR THIS  
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TIMING, AND US DEL SUGGESTING THAT SUCH TIMING IS NOT

REALISTIC OPTION IN VIEW OF WORK PROGRESS THUS FAR. WORK ON THE PRINCIPLES WAS STALLED AS NEUTRALS TRIED TO WORK OUT A " PACKAGE DEAL" TO RESOLVE BASKET III PREAMBLE PROBLEM. WESTERN GROUP RESPONDED TO SOVIET CONCESSIONS ON NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MENEUVERS, BUT DISCUSSION OF NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS GOT NOWHERE AND TOOK ON A BITTER TONE. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE COMPLETED FIRST READING OF ITS TEXT, AND FURTHER INFORMAL ATTEMPTS WERE MADE TO AGREE ON THIRD BASKET TEXTS COVERING ACCESS TO PRINTED INFORMATION AND REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES. END SUMMARY.

2. GENERAL SITUATION -- FINNISH REP ANNOUNCED TO COORDINATING COMMITTEE THAT FINLAND IS PREPARED TO HOST STAGE III IN HELSINKI IN JULY, AND EASTERN BLOC PREDICTABLY RESPONDED THAT THIS WAS POSSIBLE AND DESIRABLE. US REP, SUPPORTED BY NORWAY, SAID US WOULD NOT OBJECT IN PRINCIPLE TO A THIRD STAGE TOWARD THE END OF JULY, BUT THAT, GIVEN CSCE PROGRESS TO DATE, THIS DID NOT APPEAR TO BE A REALISTIC OPTION, THIS OPENED DEBATE ON FURTHER WORK PROGRAM, WITH SWISS STUBBORNLY OPPOSED TO CONTINUATION OF WORK AFTER JULY 12, WHEN PRESENT SCHEDULE EXPIRES. SWISS AND MOST WESTERN DELEGATIONS PREFER TO RECESS UNTIL SOME TIME IN SEPTEMBER, BUT SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES CONTINUE TO INSIST ON WORKING WITHOUT INTERRUPTION UNTIL STATE II DRAFTING HAS BEEN COMPLETED. THIS PROBLEM WILL BE EXAMINED MORE CLOSELY NEXT WEEK. MEANWHILE, NEUTRAL GROUP WAS WORKING HARD TO FINE THE BASIS FOR A "PACKAGE DEAL" PROVIDING FOR ACCEPTANCE OF RELATED FINNISH-PROPOSED LANGUAGE FOR BASKETS I AND III. UNDER FINNISH SOLUTION, BASKET III PREAMBLE WOULD MAKE A GENERAL REFERENCE TO THE LIST OF PRINCIPLES AND PHRASEOLOGY WOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE PRINCIPLES ON RESPECT FOR "LEGISLATIVE AND REGULATORY SYSTEMS" OF OTHER STATES. DISAGREEMENT ON HOW TO DEAL WITH THESE PROPOSALS HAS SLOWED DOWN AND COMPLICATED WORK IN SEVERAL SUBCOMMITTEES, BUT WESTERN RESISTENCE TO ANY KIND OF PACKAGE DEAL HAS BEEN ADAMANT THUS FAR.

3. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- DRAFTING ON NON-INTERVENTION PRINCIPLE WAS STALLED OVER A PROCEDURAL CONFIDENTIAL

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DISPUTE RELATING TO THE FINNISH-PROPOSED SENTENCE ON RESPECT FOR "LEGISLATIVE AND REGULATORY SYSTEMS". SOVIETS, WHILE NOT INSISTING ON IMMEDIATE DISCUSSION OF FINNISH SENTENCE, REJECTED WESTERN PROPOSAL THAT DISCUSSION MOVE ON (EVEN TEMPORARILY) TO HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLE. SOVIETS MANAGED TO PUT OFF A DECISION ON THIS POINT BY PROLONGING INCONCLUSIVE DISCUSSION ABOUT EARLIER PHRASES OF THE NON-INTERVENTION PRINCIPLE. THIS ISSUE WILL PROBABLY BE

RESOLVED ONLY WHEN OUTCOME OF NEUTRAL PROPOSAL FOR A BROADER "PACKAGE DEAL" IS CLEARER. SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION POSTPONED DRAFTING OF ROMANIAN PROPOSAL PROHIBITING ENTRY OR STATIONING OF TROOPS WITHOUT HOST COUNTRY AGREEMENT, AFTER SOVIETS HINTED THEY MIGHT END THEIR TOTAL OPPOSITION TO THIS IDEA.

4. MILITARY SECURITY -- SUBCOMMITTEE DEBATED PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS AND AGREED TO A TEXT ON THE EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AT MILITARY MANEUVERS. UK REP, SPEAKING FOR NATO, INDICATED FLEXIBILITY IN REDUCING TIME FOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS FROM 60 DAYS TO SEVEN WEEKS

;  
IN RAISING THRESHOLD FOR NOTIFICATION FROM 10,000 TO 12,000 TROOPS; IN WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT FEWER SPECIFICS IN THE CONTENT OF NOTIFICATION; AND IN WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS EXCEPTIONS TO THE CONCEPT OF GEOGRAPHIC APPLICATION OF THE CBM TO ALL OF EUROPE. IN DEBATE ON MOVEMENTS QUESTION, WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES REPEATED GENERAL THEME THAT THE STUDY OF MOVEMENTS HAS NOT PROVIDED AN ADEQUATE BASIS FOR IMPLEMENTING THIS CBM, AND REFUSED TO PARTICIPATE IN A DEBATE ON MOVEMENTS PARAMETERS. NEUTRALS AND A NUMBER OF NATO DELEGATIONS PERSISTED IN THEIR EFFORTS TO DISCUSS PARAMETERS AND DEPLORED SOVIET REFUSAL TO DO SO. SWEDEN PROPOSED THAT PROVISIONS AGREED TO ON THE PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS SHOULD HAVE EQUAL APPLICATION TO MOVEMENTS WITH SOME SPECIFIC EXCEPTIONS. DESPITE NUMEROUS REQUESTS TO SWEDISH REP TO INDICATE WHAT THOSE EXCEPTIONS MIGHT BE, HE FAILED TO RESPOND. FINAL JUNE 28 DISCUSSION ON MOVEMENTS PARAMETERS BROUGHT CONTINUED SILENCE ON THE PART OF SOVIET BLOC UNTIL SOME WESTERN DELEGATIONS BEGAN TO DESCRIBE SITUATION IN TERMS OF A CRISIS, A CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE AND A DISCUSSION IN A VACUUM.  
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SOVIET BLOC RESPONDED IN FORCE BY SAYING SOME DELEGATIONS WERE TRYING TO FORCE A DISCUSSION UNDER PRESSURE. DISCUSSION TOOK ON A BITTER TONE WITH WARSAW PACT SEEMING TO GET THE BETTER OF THE ARGUMENT.

5. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY -- FULL COMMITTEE CONTINUED WORK ON ITS PREAMBLE, REACHING AGREEMENT ON A PARAGRAPH CONCERNING THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN GIVING EFFECT TO THE FINAL DOCUMENTS OF THE CONFERENCE. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES REMAINED UNABLE TO REGISTER A TEXT ON IMPROVED BUSINESS CONTACTS BECAUSE OF CONTINUING CZECH INSISTENCE ON A REFERENCE TO LAWS AND REGULATIONS. SUBCOMMITTEE MOVED ON TO APPROVE TWO PARAGRAPHS ON MEASURES TO IMPROVE WORKING CONDITIONS FOR FOREIGN FIRMS. SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION

TION WAS UNABLE TO REGISTER ANY LANGUAGE, EVEN THOUGH  
ISSUES UNDER DISCUSSION WERE OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE.  
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE WORKED OUT A TEXT  
DEALING WITH UNISIST AND ECOSOC, BUT WAS UNABLE TO REGISTER  
IT BECAUSE OF A SWISS RESERVE. TEXT WILL BE DISCUSSED  
AGAIN LATER. THE GROUP DID REGISTER A PREAMBULAR PARA-  
GRAPH NOT PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED, AND THUS CONCLUDED  
ITS INITIAL READING OF THE DRAFT TEXTS BEFORE IT.

6. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- FULL COMMITTEE CONTINUED  
TO DISCUSS PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH REFERRING TO THE LIST OF  
PRINCIPLES GUIDING INTERSTATE RELATIONS, AS NEUTRALS TRIED  
TO DEVELOP A PACKAGE DEAL INVOLVING LANGUAGE TO BE INSERTED  
IN THE PRINCIPLES. HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE RECEIVED  
A NEW NATO DRAFT TEXT ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION, WHICH

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ACDA-19 OIC-04 SAJ-01 SCI-06 AEC-11 NSF-04 TRSE-00

EB-11 CU-04 STR-08 COME-00 CIEP-02 DRC-01 /185 W

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O R 291150Z JUN 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6772

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 0165

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE  
USCINCEUR  
SUFRSHH/USDOCOSOUTH  
USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA  
CINCLANT

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CONTAINED A NUMBER OF COMPROMISES BUT, AT RG INSISTENCE, ADDED SOME NEW ITEMS. WHILE THE ADDITIONS WERE NOT UNREASONABLE, THE SOVIETS FELT THE WEST WAS RAISING THE ANTE AND REFUSED INITIALLY TO DISCUSS THEM. INFORMAL EFFORTS WERE RENEWED BY THE WEEKEND AND THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF THE TEXT WAS INTRODUCED INTO THE FORMAL SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING, WHERE IT MET NO OBJECTION. IN INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE, INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS CONTINUED EFFORTS TO CONFIDENTIAL

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WORK OUT THE REMAINING PROBLEMS IN TEXT ON ACCESS TO PRINTED INFORMATION, WHILE FORMAL MEETINGS DISCUSSED THE UK PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE. SUBCOMMITTEES ON CULTURE AND EDUCATION MADE ALMOST NO PROGRESS, AS DELEGATIONS TENDED TO AWAIT RESULTS OF EFFORTS BY NEUTRALS TO WORK OUT THE PACKAGE DEAL DESCRIBED ABOVE. IN CULTURE, SOVIET DELEGATE STRENUOUSLY OBJECTED TO UK REFERENCE TO RECENT APPEAL BY 17 EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN AUTHORS TO GOVERNMENTS REPRESENTED AT CSCE. SOVIET ACTION AROUSED WIDESPREAD CRITICISM AS IMPROPER EFFORT TO IMPOSE CENSORSHIP ON ANOTHER DELEGATION. AT WEEKEND, SOVIET DELEGATE BACKPEDDLED, EVEN OBSERVING THAT WORKS OF AUTHORS WHO SIGNED APPEAL ARE KNOWN AND UNDERSTOOD IN THE USSR.

7. COMMENT: WITH THE NATO AND MOSCOW SUMMITS CASTING LONG SHADOWS OVER THE CONFERENCE, DEBATE CENTERED ONCE AGAIN ON THE FUTURE CALENDAR OF CSCE. THE FINNISH INVITATION TO HELSINKI IN JULY PROVIDED THE OCCASION FOR THE SOVIET BLOCK TO PRESS THEIR VIEW THAT THE CONFERENCE IN NEARING COMPLETION OF ITS WORK AND SHOULD PUSH ON TO AN EARLY CONCLUSION. WHILE THE SOVIETS ARE NO LONGER PUSHING FOR A SPECIFIC STAGE III DATE IN JULY, THEY HAVE INDICATED INFORMALLY THAT THEY HAVE FIRM INSTRUCTIONS TO OPPOSE ANY RECESS, AND THEY STILL ARGUE THAT STAGE II CAN BE COMPLETED BY THE END OF JULY. WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS CONSIDER THIS SCENARIO AN IMPOSSIBILITY, AND STRONGLY FAVOR A SUMMER RECESS.

8. THE GROWING ENTANGLEMENT OF THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE SEEMED TO MAKE AN EARLY CONCLUSION VIRTUALLY OUT OF THE QUESTION, AND THE WIDELY DIVERGENT OPINIONS ON THE NEUTRAL PROPOSAL FOR A PACKAGE DEAL TO SETTLE THE BASKET III PRE-

AMBLE PROBLEM SUGGESTED THAT THIS COMPLEX ISSUE WOULD NOT BE EASILY RESOLVED. IN FACT, THE CONFERENCE SEEMED TO BE APPROACHING ANOTHER KEY TURNING POINT WHICH WOULD ONLY BE ACHIEVED WHEN POLITICAL PRESSURES BUILD UP. THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS SITUATION CLEARLY BELONGED TO THE SOVIETS, WHOSE STUBBORN OPPOSITION TO ANY PROGRESS IN BASKET III HAS EMBITTERED WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS AND PROVOKED ADAMANT RESISTENCE. THE SOVIETS HERE FINALLY APPEAR TO REALIZE THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO DO SOMETHING DRAMATIC IF  
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THEY ARE TO REVERSE THE NEGATIVE WESTERN VIEW OF THE CONFERENCE AND MAKE POSSIBLE THE EARLY CONCLUSION THEY ADVOCATE, BUT IT IS HARD TO IMAGINE HOW THEY COULD MANAGE NBKPT SUCH MIRACULOUS PROGRESS. END COMMENT.  
ABRAMS

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** TRADE PROMOTION, HUMAN RIGHTS, STAGE III, MEETINGS, NEGOTIATIONS, MEETING REPORTS, MILITARY EXERCISES, BASKET III, FORCE & TROOP LEVELS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 29 JUN 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** garlanwa  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974GENEVA04139  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D740173-0378  
**From:** GENEVA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1974/newtext/t1974061/aaaaaasy.tel  
**Line Count:** 297  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** garlanwa  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 28 MAY 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <28 MAY 2002 by shawdg>; APPROVED <24 JUN 2002 by garlanwa>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - JUNE 24-28  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PARM, EGEN, CSCE  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005